1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:172) reported that the *Alacaluf* traded pieces of iron pyrites, used for striking fire, to the *Tehuelche*.

SOCIAL LIFE

Marriage and the family.—Direct information is available only for the later *Tehuelche;* our chief information on the domestic culture of the later *Tehuelche* comes from Sánchez Labrador, Viedma, Fitz-Roy, Musters, and Spegazzini.

Premarital chastity was seemingly rather strictly observed by girls. They were free to choose their husbands. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:152) reported that sometimes girls were betrothed while very young [child betrothal?]. Boys married around the age of 20; girls from 15 to 18 or so. The groom gave presents to the bride's father or parents; these presents were in some measure at least a bride-price; the father or parents of the bride also gave presents of equal value, which in case of later separation were the property of the bride (Musters, 1871, pp. 177–178; 1872, p. 201). The girl was brought by her father or the groom to the latter's toldo, where a wedding feast was given, including mares' meat. It was unlucky for any of the offal or meat of the mares to be eaten by the dogs. The shaman sang and gave advice at weddings. Residence was generally patrilocal. According to Viedma (1837 b, p. 74), a "cacique" always married the daughter or sister of another cacique.

Marriage was mostly monogamous. Some men, however, had two wives; rarely three in the later 19th century, but earlier some had "four, five, or even more" (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:152), and even five to eight (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 73). No polyandry is reported (however, see *Poya*, p. 160); nor is either the sororate or levirate.

Wives were generally well-treated as well as loved. Wife beating was very rare. Adultery was not uncommon; in case of unfaithfulness on the part of a wife, her paramour suffered the penalty, not she (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 74). Divorce was uncommon, being usually sought by the wife. A man was not allowed to look toward his father-in-law when in conversation with him (Musters, 1871, p. 184). The aged were respected and well cared for.

Etiquette.—Proper names were not mentioned (Bourne, 1853, p. 150). Hospitality was the rule, to traveling strangers as well as to friends. Certain formalities were observed when two parties approached and came together, including answers to the host's questions before delivering a message (Musters, 1871, pp. 184–185). The relative absence of formalities on entering a tent (Moreno, 1879, p. 226) contrasted with *Araucanian* etiquette in this regard.

Cleanliness of body was considered desirable, and bathing in the river was common; there was also a certain ideal of toldo cleanliness;

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

231 hunted on foot, with a large sort of dog, which, from his description, must have resembled a deer hound. The dogs are rarely fed, being allowed generally to satiate themselves in the chase. The hounds belonging to Orkeke, and one or two others, were exceptions to this rule, being fed with cooked meat when it was plentiful. The women keep pet lap-dogs of various descriptions, generally a sort of terrier, some of them much resembling the Scotch terrier. 'Ako,' for instance, was to all appearance a thoroughbred dog of that breed. These little lap-dogs are the torment of one's life in camp: at the least sound they rush out yelping, and set all the big dogs off; and in an Indian encampment at night, when there is anything stirring, a continual concert of bow-wows is kept up. The dogs are fierce towards strangers, but generally content themselves with surrounding them, showing their teeth and barking, unless set on. That they are ugly customers at night an amusing instance will prove. One morning a dog was found dead near its owner's toldo, which had evidently been knocked on the head with a bola, and finished with a knife; the owner made a great outcry, but no explanation could be had. It subsequently became
● 837 known to me that a young gallant had sought admission to the toldo of his inamorata by the accustomed method of cautiously lifting the back tent cover from the ground, and dexterously crawling underneath; when half through, he felt his leg seized in a pair of powerful jaws. The lady was highly amused at the predicament of her lover, who, however, extricated himself by a mighty and well-directed kick with his foot in the muzzle of his assailant. When returning from his 'rendezvous' he met his active enemy, and vindictively knocked him on the head, and, to make sure work, cut his th[illegible]t; but his leg carried after all a deeper scar than his heart as a token of the love-adventure, and when the story was told, and, as may be supposed, excited roars of laughter, it recalled forcibly to my mind,

'He jests at scars who never felt a wound.'

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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one else had to support the squaw till her suitor proved himself worthy, and acquired sufficient wealth to justify taking her to his wigwam; and, if he cared much for his coury, he would not be long in earning her; it would make him a first-rate thief, — the most indispensable title to favor in the tribe. It appeared that the possession of two horses, one for himself and one for his intended, was regarded as the proper outfit in a matrimonial adventure.

The women are somewhat given to quarrelling among themselves; and, when their "combativeness" is once active, they fight like tigers. Jealousy is a frequent occasion. If a squaw suspects her liege lord of undue familiarity with a rival, she darts upon the fair enchantress with the fury of a wild beast: then ensues such a pounding, scratching and hair-pulling, as beggars description. The gay deceiver, if taken by surprise, slips quietly out, and stands at a safe distance to watch the progress of the combat, generally chuckling at the fun with great complacency. A crowd gathers round to cheer on the rivals; and the rickety wigwam, under the effort of the squall within, creaks and shivers like a ship in the wind's eye.

While the *contract* of marriage is so jealously regarded by the chief as to be subject to a veto in every case where a proposed match appears in his eyes unsuitable, the *ceremony* is literally nothing at all. Due sanction having been given by the supreme authority, the bridegroom takes home his bride for better or worse, without any of the festivity which graces similar occasions elsewhere. About this time, — for, as I had no means of journalizing my experience, or even keeping the reckoning of weeks and months, it is quite impossible to assign dates, — a mat-

invasion by his neighbors. As a matter of fact the unfortunate chief's family does not lose its right to its land, and with the passage of time it often happens that some descendant will re-establish the colony which his father, grandfather or brother destroyed either by bad luck or bad conduct. When a chief becomes old and unable to fulfill the obligations of his position he hands over his authority to a successor.

Marriages are made by a man's buying his wife from her father or from some other under whose guardianship she may be, and in proportion to her rank, good looks, conduct, etc. she is either more or less expensive. Her will is not taken into account for this transaction by her father or guardian, and she cannot set herself against her own sale. Each man may have one, two, or more wives of his own, depending on his wealth, but only rarely does a man have more than one unless he be a chief or an Indian of great power. There is the greatest number of wives which any man gets to possess, and each husband has the right of selling his wives to another, but this resale makes the woman of little worth, and for that reason she is sold very cheaply; poor men only buy women in this way since they lack the funds to buy them first-hand. It is not considered improper to sell a woman to a relative, unless it be to the woman's son or brother, all other relatives being eligible as buyers. Many are the marriages of this type which are consummated because of the expense involved in procuring an unmarried woman. Single women, while they are yet young and have hopes of being married keep their virginity, but should these hopes vanish, they will have sex relations promiscuously. Those married women who find that the husband who bought them from their father or guardian is to their liking, are faithful, but should they not like their husbands they become troublesome -- yet adultery is not considered a crime unless committed in the husband's presence, and in such a case the adulterer and not the woman is blamed, and even then no punishment is meted out, the husband being easily mollified. The chief always has as a wife the daughter or sister of some other chief, and she is the head wife amongst his others, who must serve her in every way. Even if the chief should tire of his principal wife he may not sell her because it would be considered an insult and cause for an outbreak of war with her relatives. All these head wives are grave in demeanor, given to few words, live secluded in their tents, spend their time in pursuits suitable [74] to their position, and do not take part in the vain conversations of the other Indian women. The men never manhandle the women for any reason, except when drunk, and even in such a condition the chief will never strike his head wife although all the others may well receive their share of blows.

able, and it is never uncovered for anyone unless by order of the pseudo-holy man or witch doctor, who may be either a man or a woman. This person ordinarily has to practice his art daily, chanting to the deity to the accompaniment of two gourds filled with pebbles -- a type of music which is as unpleasant as is his own voice. In this manner the witch doctor makes petitions to the deity to the effect that the group's enemies may sicken or die. This often redounds in the witch doctor's undoing for should his incantations be followed by some plague among the enemy, or some chief or important person die amongst them, then the enemy group will try every means to capture the witch doctor and make a devil's martyr of him. The witch doctors must also chant to the deity in intercession for the sick in their own camp in order to overrule the witch doctors among their enemies. If the sick person is not brought back to health the sick one's friends often will give the witch doctor his just deserts, at least by depriving him of his occupation and treating him as of no repute in the future; if the wife or son of a chief should die the witch doctor will often pay for his unsuccessful cure with his life. The witch doctor's curative efforts are limited to chanting, no other medicines being used in the curing of sickness. And so these singing doctors encounter many hardships in their lives, there being but few who die of natural causes, but nevertheless there are always many eager for the job because they can have a free hand with the Indians' wives if the latter are willing, or, if the witch doctor be a woman, she can have relations with the men. There are almost as many witch doctors as there are families because as a rule the head of every household has an idol of his own in his tent, and if the camp is made up of four, five or more families, there are an equal number of witch doctors or pseudo holy men -- let it be remembered that amongst the Indians a family is not composed only of man, wife and children, but also of all of the relatives of the husband who is the family head, and who is therefore a sort of subaltern chief under the one who has general overlordship and property rights to the land.

When someone in the family becomes sick the family witch doctor comes to chant in the person's very ear, in such loud and harsh tones that the sounds alone might be enough to bring about his death. If the patient gets worse [76] the witch doctor invites the participation of others of his profession and all the old women, in order to help him in his chanting; should the patient die no one other than the original witch doctor is held responsible. Once the sick person is completely prostrated, if she be a virgin and young, a tent of ponchos is made for her at some little distance from the camp. She is put into it and there the chanting becomes louder because

poles from top to bottom and make firm partitions. On the outside 342
the hide touches the ground on the north, west and south. The entrance
is always left facing east and is as wide as the entire tent, which is in
the shape of an oval cave. Nothing whatever is placed at the entrance
to close it except [80] in freezing weather, when it is closed by hanging
a hide across it. The inner partitions are arranged from the center to- 342
ward the back for each married couple, and the children and other 592
family members and relatives sleep all in a jumble in the remaining
part which is no man's land up to the door. Here widowers, widows,
unmarried men and women, relatives, servants and slaves and, in fact,
as many as are dependent on or related to the head or master of the
tent, come together. Virgins here, in spite of the opportunity try, as 934
has been said, to keep their virginity while they have hope of getting 597
married; but if they should lose this hope they will take any man
indiscriminately, and they and the widows spend the night merrily,
taking up with the first man who cares to sleep with them.

Quarrels between men belonging to the same camp are decided 627
by coming to blows with their fists and hands. They are not allowed to 598
use any weapons, and no one dares to separate them until they give in
or separate on their own accord. The onlookers applaud them and
laugh. When women fight they begin in a sitting posture, to say of- [516]
fensive words to each other until one of them starts to unbraid her hair
very calmly, at which the other does likewise, still keeping up the flow
of insults. As soon as both have loosed their hair, they shake it, get up
and charge furiously, tugging hard on each other's hair and yanking out
as much of it as they can as it tangles in their nails. The other women
and men just look at them, not daring to pull them apart. When they
become exhausted they themselves separate and are as good friends as
a result of this as though they had not fought. They allow their hair to
remain loose for the remainder of the day. The women may not strike
each other in their fights with hands or fists as do the men, nor may
they pull or tear each other's clothes, only their hair, and should they
do otherwise they are corrected by the surrounding spectators.

In time of sorrow, on the march, on very windy days, when it 302
is very cold or freezing, the Indians paint their faces black or violet, 751
the men as well as the women, to keep their skin from chapping.

Usually these Indians are of a sweet and innocent nature, and [519]
they became so attached to me and they treated me with such simplic- 133
ity, especially the chief of San Julian, that had we had enough horses
I believe there would not be a span of those lands which I would not
have been able to explore in their company.

Buenos Aires, December 10, 1783

Antonio de Viedma [61]